

Message Text

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ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-02 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 SSM-03 DHA-02 AID-05 SAJ-01 SAM-01 /094 R

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APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY

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NEA - ALATHERTON

IO/UNP - JLORENZ

S/S - MR. BRIDGES

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R 121539Z OCT 76

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

S E C R E T STATE 252411

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EG, US, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET PROPOSAL ON THE MIDDLE EAST

REF: CAIRO 13411

1. FOLLOWING IS INR ASSESSMENT OF THE LATEST SOVIET
MIDDLE EAST PROPOSAL WHICH MAY BE PASSED TO FAHMI ON AN
UNATTRIBUTED BASIS.

2. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT'S NEW "PROPOSAL" ON A SETTLE-
MENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

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ESSENTIALLY RESTATES THE MAIN POINTS OF MOSCOW'S APRIL 28

"OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST,"
INCLUDING THE CALL FOR RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE
IN TWO STAGES. THE PROPOSAL DIFFERS FROM THE EARLIER
PRONOUNCEMENT MAINLY IN:

--PRESENTING ITS ADDRESSEES WITH A DIRECT CALL FOR ACTION
AS OPPOSED TO DESCRIBING THE STATEMENT AS SOVIET
VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION;

--CALLING FOR THE GENEVA CONFERENCE TO RECONVENE IN
OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER (OTHER RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS
HAVE AVOIDED SUGGESTING ANY SPECIFIC TIME FRAME FOR
THE RESUMPTION OF THE CONFERENCE);

--ADDING TO THE USUAL FORMULA ON THE ESSENTIALS OF A SETTLE-
MENT A NEW POINT--"STOPPAGE OF THE STATE OF WAR BETWEEN
THE CONCERNED ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL" AND PRESENTING ITS
POINTS AS A SUGGESTED AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE. (ADDITION
OF THE POINT ON ENDING THE STATE OF WAR IS PROBABLY IN
REACTION TO THE ISRAELI INITIATIVE OF FEBRUARY 1976 ON
ENDING THE STATE OF BELLIGERENCY, WHICH THE SOVIETS IMPLY,
HOWEVER, WOULD BE PART OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT AND NOT SIMPLY
A NEXT STEP IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS); AND

--REFLECTING A CLARIFICATION OF MOSCOW'S APRIL 28 POSITION
ON PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE, WHICH MUST BE
"ON AN EQUAL FOOTING FROM THE OUTSET" (THE APRIL 28
STATEMENT WAS LESS CATEGORICAL ON WHEN PLO PARTICIPATION
WOULD BEGIN).

3. MOSCOW'S LATEST INITIATIVE TO PUT LIFE INTO THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE PROBABLY IS MOTIVATED BY THE FOLLOWING CONSIDER-
ATIONS:

--A CONTINUING SOVIET EFFORT TO ENSURE A SOVIET ROLE IN
ANY ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS.

--A RESPONSE TO ANTICIPATED DEVELOPMENTS AT THE UN. THE
SOVIETS MAY HOPE THAT THEIR PROPOSAL WILL FOCUS MIDDLE
EAST DELIBERATIONS IN THE UNGA ON THE GENEVA CONFERENCE
AND GUIDE ANY UN ACTION ALONG LINES COMPATIBLE WITH SOVIET
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INTERESTS.

4. THE USSR HAS ALSO PROMISED A SPECIFIC INITIATIVE ON
LEBANON, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS. IF THE GENEVA PRO-
POSAL IS THE PROMISED LEBANESE INITIATIVE, OR AT LEAST
THE OPENING STEP IN IT, THE SOVIETS MAY HAVE IN MIND SOME
MOVE TO LINK MOVEMENT IN LEBANON WITH THE GENEVA CONFER-
ENCE.

5. MOSCOW'S EFFORT SEEMS DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY TO REINJECT
ITSELF INTO ANY MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS THAT MAY BE

CONTEMPLATED AFTER THE US ELECTIONS. THE DOCUMENT APPEARS
TO BE ESSENTIALLY PRO FORMA, AND IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY
THAT MOSCOW EXPECTS ANY PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST ON
THE BASIS OF ITS PROPOSALS. KISSINGER

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